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## SOME NOTES ON *MANKIND*—*Concluded*

In l. 155, Nought addresses Mercy as "jentyll Jaffrey." I have found two instances of the "slang" use of the name "Geoffrey" in two different senses. One is in Awdeley's *The XXV Orders of Knaves*, of the sixteenth century: "Jeffery Gods Fo is he, that wil sweare & maintaine othes. This is such a lying knaue that none wil beleue him, for the more he sweareth, ye les he is to be beleued."<sup>1</sup> The other is in a Latin poem belonging to the reign of Henry III, in T. Wright's *Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to That of Edward II* (Camden Society), pp. 49-50. Here the name is explained as being equivalent to "jo frai," that is, "I will do it," and as meaning a slow, listless man who is always procrastinating. Geoffrey is one of four brothers, Robert, Richard, Gilbert, and Geoffrey; and a part of the description of the four is contained in the following quatrain:

Robertus excoriat, extorquet, et minatur;  
Et Ricardus retinet totum quod lucratur;  
Gilebertus decipit, et inde gloriatur;  
Galfridus se procrastinat, et nil operatur.

In the *Manual of Sins*, preserved in a manuscript of the late fifteenth century, a Latin quatrain, beginning "Robertus excoriat torquet et minatur," occurs in a description of four typical "excecuteurs of pe new facion"—Richard, Robert, Geoffrey, and Gilbert.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Herbert in his account of the *Manual* gives only the first line of the quatrain, but it is undoubtedly the same as the one in the poem in Wright's collection. The use of the name "Geoffrey" to signify a slow, listless man, a procrastinator, was, therefore, known in the fifteenth century; and this is probably the meaning intended in *Mankind*, when the name is given to Mercy. It will be noted that in l. 255 Now-a-days says to Mercy: "I trow yowur name ys 'do lytyll'; ȝe be so longe fro hom."

<sup>1</sup> Awdeley's *Fraternitee of Vacabondes*, etc., ed. E. Viles and F. J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S.), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> H. Ward and J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, III, 319-20.

In l. 230, we are told that "Measure is treasure." A poem with this title is included among Lydgate's minor poems in the Percy Society Publications, II, 208. The expression is an old proverb. See J. Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (1742), p. 135; F. Seager's "Schoole of Vertue," in *Early English Meals and Manners*, etc., ed. F. J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S.), p. 344, l. 477; Skelton's *Magnyfycence*, ed. R. L. Ramsay (E.E.T.S.), l. 125; "Die Burghsche Cato Paraphrase," ed. Max Förster, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, ed. L. Herrig and others, CXV, 315; and *Lydgate's Minor Poems*, in Percy Society Publications, II, 82.

To impress upon his rustic audience the necessity of "measure" in eating and drinking, our writer compares the pampered body, which is likely to endanger the welfare of the soul, to an overfed horse, which throws his master into the mire (ll. 234-37). A similar comparison occurs in *A Treatise of Ghostly Battle*, where the horse (the body) is to be restrained by the bridle of Abstinence.<sup>1</sup>

In ll. 267-68, Nought says that he has played the fool so long with the "comyn tapster of Bury" that he is very weary. The common tapsters of other towns than Bury were also of doubtful reputation. In 1465 the town council of King's Lynn (one of the towns in the vicinity of which *Mankind* was performed) ordained that "no man within the Towne of Lenne dwellyng fro hens furthward shall kepe nor favour nor mayteyne eny common Tapster with in his house as servaunt or tenaunt, whiche is knowen for a misgoverned woman . . . and also that all suiche comen Tapstres be avoided out of this Towne by Cristemesse even next comyng."<sup>2</sup>

In ll. 279-81, Mercy says:

Se þe grett pacyence of Iob, & tribulacyon:  
lyke as þe smyth trieth ern in þe feer,  
So was he triede by Godis vysytacyon.

This figure of trying *iron* by fire is unusual; the common figure, the trying of gold by fire, is the one used by Job himself: "Et probavit me quasi aurum, quod per ignem transit" (Job 23:10). The version in our play may have been due to a careless reading of some such passage as the one in the translations of the *Duodecim Utilitates*

<sup>1</sup> C. Horstman, *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, 422.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Mss. Com.*, XI, App. 3, p. 168.

*Tribulationis*, by Petrus Blesensis, of which there are a number in Middle English: "Do secunde maner of clensyng is thorou whilk metals are clensid, as gold with fire, & ierne with file."<sup>1</sup> (This passage is followed, a few lines later, by the above-mentioned quotation from Job.) A hasty reading of the words, "gold with fire, & ierne with file," could easily give the version used in the play.

In ll. 308-15, Mankind writes on a paper a verse from the Bible, "Memento, homo, quod cinis es, & in cinerem reuerteris." This is done, he says, "to defende me from all superstycyus charmys"; and then he adds, "Lo! I ber on my bryst pe bagge of myn armys."

This apparently means that he has hung the paper about his neck as a charm against evil—specifically, against the wiles of Myscheff and his companions; and has left it hanging outside his gown or jacket. The wearing of verses of Scripture as charms suspended around the neck was a common mediaeval custom. The following passage, censuring the abuse of the practice, is from the *Dialogue of Dives and Pauper*, printed in 1493:

Or use any charmes in gathering of herbes, or hangynge of scrowes aboute man or woman or childe or beest for any seknesse, with any scripture or figures and charects, but if it be pater noster, ave, or the crede, or holy wordes of the Gospel, or of Holy Wryt, for devocion nat for curioustie, and only with the tokene of the holy crosse.<sup>2</sup>

The paper no doubt bore a cross, as did most of such charms (see the close of the preceding quotation), and this was purposely made large so that the audience might see it readily. It is to this cross, I suppose, instead of to the entire paper, that Mankind refers in l. 315: "Lo! I ber on my bryst pe bagge of myn armys." The "bagge of armys" was the badge worn by the followers of a nobleman,<sup>3</sup> it was placed on the breast, back, or sleeve.<sup>4</sup> Mankind's meaning is that he has now obeyed Mercy's injunction, given in the preceding part of the same scene, and is now "Crystis own knyght" (l. 222). He has become, to use a modern equivalent, a "soldier of the cross."

<sup>1</sup> C. Horstman, *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, 49; see also 395.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in Brand, *Popular Antiquities* (1888), III, 320; see also other instances cited there.

<sup>3</sup> *Promptorium Parvulorum*, Camden Society, I, 20.

<sup>4</sup> A. C. Fox-Davies, *A Complete Guide to Heraldry*, p. 458.

Ll. 445-46:

*Nought.* I kan pype in a Walsyngham Wystyll, I, Nought, Nought.  
*Myscheff.* Blow a-pase! & þou xall brynge hym in with a flewte.

Mr. Farmer's note on this passage, which he thinks contains a reference to the Wishing Wells of Walsingham, is not to the point, for it does not explain the *Whistle* at all.<sup>1</sup> I have not found the Walsingham Whistle mentioned anywhere else; and offer the following explanation only as a plausible conjecture.

The name "Walsingham Whistle," I think, was applied to the flute by the country people because it was used by the pilgrims to Walsingham. We know that pilgrims were in the habit of enlivening their journey with music of the bagpipe;<sup>2</sup> and there is no reason to suppose that flutes and other instruments were not also used for the same purpose. The shrine at Walsingham, in Norfolk, was a favorite place of pilgrimage, and many of the pilgrims would have to pass through the country in which our play was performed. The people of that section, hearing the flutes so frequently, called them Walsingham Whistles—the whistles of the pilgrims to Walsingham. In similar manner, in Norfolk the Galaxia, or Milky Way, was known as the "Walsingham Way."<sup>3</sup>

"Si dederò," in l. 449, is a popular expression for bribery or buying of favors of any sort. Cf. *Castle of Perseverance*, ll. 878-82; Humanum Genus says:

Coueytyse, as þou wylt, I wyl do.

. . . . .  
 of Mankynde, getyth no man no good,  
 but if he synge "si dederò."

Also Lydgate's version of Aesop's "Wolf and Sheep," in *Anglia*, IX, 8:

Whan a jarroure hath caught savour ones  
 To be forsworn, custom makith hym strong,  
 "Si dederò" is now so mery a song,  
 He hath a practis bi lawe to make a preef,  
 To hange a triew man and save an errant thief.

<sup>1</sup> J. S. Farmer, *Lost Tudor Plays*, p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> Chaucer's *Prologue*, 565-66; and F. W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music*, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> F. Blomefield, *History of Norfolk*, II, 173; IX, 280.

Also a poem from a manuscript of the sixteenth century in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, II, 6; another poem, from a manuscript of the fourteenth century, in *ibid.*, II, 121; *Jack Trueman's Epistle*, in Percy Society Publications, I, 4 (second collection); T. Wright, *Political Songs of England*, p. 324 (Camden Society); Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, Lib. III, ll. 233-34; and C. Horstman, *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, 65.

In l. 473, New-gyse declares that he has no money: "I fayll ij farthyngis of an halpeny." Compare this with the more modern expression: "Nipence, nopence, half a groat lacking two pence."<sup>1</sup> Half a groat equals two pence, as half a penny equals two farthings.

In ll. 480-81, Nought likewise declares that his purse is empty:

"Non nobis, domine; non nobis," by sent Deny!  
be deull may daunce in my purse for ony peny!

"Non nobis, domine; non nobis" are the opening words of Ps. 113:1 (second set of verses), given a new interpretation by Nought. With the second line of the quotation cf. the Beggar's speech in Hoccleve's *Regement of Princes*, E.E.T.S., E.S., lxxii, p. 25, ll. 684 ff.:

be feend, men seyn, may hopen in a pouche  
Whan þat no croys þere-inne may a-pere;  
And by my purs be same I may seye here.

See also Skelton's, *The Bowge of Courte*, ll. 363-64:

And by his syde his whynarde and his pouche,  
The deuyll myghte daunce therin for ony crowche.

This refers, of course, to the cross which formed part of the design stamped on the penny and other coins; the devil would not venture into a purse which contained any of these coins.<sup>2</sup>

In l. 490, Now-a-days says: "Remembre my brokyn hede in þe worschyppe of þe v. vowellys." This is Dr. Furnivall's reading; Professor Manly's text has "v voli ellys," but he suggests "vij (or xx) devellys"; Dr. Brandl reads "volvellys," and suggests "dewellys"; Mr. Farmer reads "five vowels," and has a note on "volvellys."<sup>3</sup> None of these suggestions is satisfactory. In the facsimile of the manuscript the words look most like "v. volvellys,"

<sup>1</sup> J. Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (1742), p. 60.

<sup>2</sup> See also a passage from Massinger's *Bashful Lover*, quoted in Skelton's *Works* (American edition, "British Poets" series), III, 40.

<sup>3</sup> J. M. Manly, *Specimens of the Pre-Shakspearean Drama*, I, 333; A. Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas*, p. 57; J. S. Farmer, *Lost Tudor Plays*, pp. 22 and 466.

but might be "v. vowellys" with the *w* carelessly written. However, the expression "worship of the v. vowellys, or volvellys" occurs nowhere else, so far as I can find; and if it did occur it would not fit the context in the play. Mr. Farmer's note on "volvellys" does not help to clear up the obscurity. The "vij (or xx) devellys" are found frequently in mediaeval writings, and could easily be used after the phrase "in the worship of." However, I have not found them in this connection; and, furthermore, that expression would not be particularly suitable for this passage.

A new explanation is suggested here. A "charme to staunch blood," from a manuscript of 1475, ends: "And sey thys charme fyve tymes with fyve pater nosters, in the worschep of the fyve woundys." Another "charme to draw out yren de quarell," from the same manuscript, ends: "And sey thys charme five tymes in the worschep of the fyve woundys of Chryst."<sup>1</sup> Now a common mediaeval term for the wounds of Christ was the "five wells."<sup>2</sup> Hence, by substitution, the "worship of the five wounds" in the charms quoted above would become the "worship of the five wells." I have not found this form of the expression elsewhere, but it is reasonable to suppose that it was used alongside the variant form. The "v. wellys," I think, was the original reading in *Mankind*. The change to "v. vowellys," or "v. volvellys," could easily be the work of a careless scribe. Make the emendation, and we have an expression which exactly fits the context. Now-a-days is talking about the cure of his wound, and he borrows this expression from the charms used at the time in such cures.

In l. 491, Nought refers to the "sytyca in my arme."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Brandl's note on "scythica," a herb used for healing wounds, is unnecessary. The modern "sciatica" is evidently the meaning. The objection has been made that the sciatica does not affect the arm; but therein lies the point of the joke. Such a twisting of terms

<sup>1</sup> Both are given in Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, III, 271. For other references to Christ's wounds in charms—but not connected with their "worship"—see *Anglia*, XIX, 80, 81, 85.

<sup>2</sup> For example, see C. Horstman, *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, 440; F. J. Furnivall, *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, p. 142, ll. 36-37 (revised edition); and two poems by Lydgate, in *Percy Society Publications*, II, 26 and 238.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Manly, in his text, rightly assigns this speech to Nought; in the E.E.T.S. text it is a part of Now-a-day's speech.

is entirely in keeping with the character of Nought and of the play as a whole.

In ll. 509-10, Nought, who is ready to go on a thieving expedition with his two companions, says:

Felous, cum forth! & go we hens to-gethyr.  
For drede of "in manus tuas," qweke.

The phrase "in manus tuas" occurs twice in the Bible: in Ps. 30:6, "In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum; redemisti me, Domine Deus veritatis"; and in Christ's last words on the cross as recorded in Luke 23:46. The verse from the Psalms formed part of the prayer to be said by the person receiving the sacrament of Extreme Unction.<sup>1</sup> Because of this fact, and also because many condemned prisoners wanted to die with Christ's last words on their lips, the phrase "in manus tuas" was constantly heard at executions, and became a slang term for the execution itself. It is used in this sense in *Mankind*.

While Mankind is praying, Tityvillus, intending to divert him from his devotions, whispers (l. 551):

"A schorte preyere thyrylyth hewyn": of pi preyere blyn.

This expression occurs in the poem "The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage," in *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, etc., ed. F. J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S.), p. 43, ll. 167-68:

A schort prayer wynnythe heyvyn,  
the patter noster and an ave.

Cf. also *Piers Plowman*, C, XII, 294 ff.:

And lewede leele laborers . and land-tylynge people  
Persen with a pater-noster . paradys other heuene,  
Passinge purgatorie penaunceles . for here parfit by-leyue;  
Breuis oratio penetrat celum.

In the two preceding passages the efficacy of short prayers like the Pater Noster is set forth; but even these are too long for Tityvillus, and he turns the proverb into an argument for inducing Mankind to abbreviate the Pater Noster still farther—by desisting from it entirely.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Myrc, *Instructions for Parish Priests*, p. 54.

<sup>2</sup> See also "Proverbs of Prophets, Poets, and Saints," in *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS* (E.E.T.S.), II, 552.



In ll. 562-64, Tityvillus says:

yff ȝe haue ony syluer, in happe, pure brasse,  
Take a lytyll powder of Parysch, & cast ouer hys face,  
Ande ewyn in þe howll-flyght let hym passe.

This seems to be a reference to a common trick of the alchemists: the turning of copper or brass into a white metal resembling silver, by the use of an arsenic compound, such as orpiment (auripigmentum), trisulphide of arsenic.<sup>1</sup> I have not found the term "powder of Parysch" used elsewhere, but it was probably a popular name for orpiment (cf. our modern Paris green, an arsenic compound, and Paris purple, an arsenious by-product). The alchemical use of the orpiment produced a vile odor. A reading of the passage quoted above, in connection with the preceding lines of the play (ll. 553-61), and a comparison of them with ll. 32-35 of *Colyn Blowbols Testament*<sup>2</sup> will make the meaning sufficiently clear. The tone of the passage is on the same level with that of several others in the play.

"Howll-flyght" means the dusk of evening, when owls fly.<sup>3</sup> In this passage it is used as if it were an alchemical term; if it is, I have not discovered its meaning.

In l. 586, Tityvillus, approaching Mankind, who is asleep, says to the audience: "Qwyst! pesse! pe Deull ys dede! I xall goo ronde in hys ere." The proverb, "Heigh ho, the Devil is dead," is given in Ray's collection,<sup>4</sup> and it is explained as meaning that a difficulty is almost overcome, a journey almost finished, etc.<sup>5</sup> The significance of the use of this proverb by Tityvillus is apparent: he has already led Mankind to renounce labor and prayer, the two safeguards which Mercy had recommended against temptation; Mankind's downfall is almost accomplished. Tityvillus now whispers in his ear the suggestion for the dream which completes the task.

In this dream he suggests that Mercy has stolen a horse and a "nete," and that for the crime he now "rydyth ouer pe galous."

<sup>1</sup> E. Von Meyer, *History of Chemistry* (trans. by G. M'Gowan), pp. 37 and 54; and R. Steele, *Mediaeval Lore*, p. 34 (King's Classics).

<sup>2</sup> W. C. Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry of England*, I, 93.

<sup>3</sup> See Skelton, "The Douty Duke of Albany," l. 312, in his *Works*, II, 331 (American edition), and "Piers of Fullham," l. 28, in Hazlitt, *Early Popular Poetry*, II, 3.

<sup>4</sup> J. Ray, *A Collection of English Proverbs* (1742), p. 55.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

This figure of *riding* on the gallows as on a horse recalls the fact that the gallows was sometimes popularly known as a horse; as in the Yorkshire riddle quoted by Mr. S. Baring-Gould: "What is the horse that is ridden that never was foaled, and rid with a bridle that never had bit?" The answer is, "The gallows."<sup>1</sup> Mr. Baring-Gould sees in this a reminiscence of "Ogre's horse," the name given to the world-tree on which Odin hanged himself.

New-gyse, who has just escaped hanging because the rope broke, appears on the stage with the "halter" still around his neck. He calls the rope "sent Audrys holy bende," and explains his chafed and swollen neck by saying (ll. 622-23):

I haue a lytyll dyshes, as yt plesse Gode to sende,  
With a runnyng rynge-worme.

St. Audry, or Etheldreda, of Ely died of a pestilence, one of the symptoms of which was a great swelling of the neck; cf. *New English Dictionary*, s.v. "Tawdry lace."

In l. 678, Nought excuses his poor handwriting by saying: "I xulde haue don bettur, hade I wyst." "Had I wyst" is a proverbial expression for incompetence and carelessness. Ripley, in his *Compound of Alchymie*, speaking of unlearned and unskilful men who try to be alchemists, and are ragged and lean, says: "And thus for (had I wyst) they suffer losse and wo."<sup>2</sup> See also Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, Lib. I, l. 1888, and Lib. IV, l. 305; "The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage," l. 120, in *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, etc., p. 42; "Proverbs of Good Counsel," l. 56, in *ibid.*, p. 69; and a note with a number of references in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, etc., ed. L. Herrig and others, XC, 258-59.

In l. 683, the deposed Edward IV is referred to as "Edwardi nullateni" (not "millateni" as in the E.E.T.S. text)—in mocking allusion to his being no longer king. Cf. Lydgate's *Order of Fools*, where, speaking of various kinds of fools, he says:

N[u]llatensis a-sesythe hath hys bulle  
To alle suche, þat neuer of hem shalle the.

<sup>1</sup> S. Baring-Gould, *Strange Survivals*, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> E. Ashmole, *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum* (1652), l. 153.

And later in the same poem there is a reference to "som worthy byshoppe nullatence" who grants the fools a "general pardoun and a patent to be-gyn her dispence."<sup>1</sup>

In l. 684, the date of the mock court is given as: "On ȝestern day, in Feuerere, þe ȝere passyth fully." I am indebted to Professor Manly for the explanation of the latter part of the date: it means that the year is entirely wanting—the year is unknown.

In l. 743, Mercy uses the expression, "In trust is treason." This is given in Camden's *Remains Concerning Britain* (1870), p. 325, in a list of popular proverbs. See also J. O. Halliwell, *Ludus Coventriae* (Shakespeare Society), p. 241; Hugh Rhode's "Boke of Nurture," in *Early English Meals and Manners*, ed. F. J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S.), p. 91, l. 347; and "The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage," l. 76.

In ll. 746–48, Mercy speaks thus of ingratitude:

As a nobyll versyfyer makyth mencyon in þis verse:  
"Lex & natura, Christus et omnia iura  
Damnant in-gratum; lugetur eum fore natum."

Who this "nobyll versyfyer" was, I have not discovered; but Gower places a similar statement at the head of the section on Ingratitude in his *Confessio Amantis* (Lib. V, sec. vii):

Cuncta creatura, deus et qui cuncta creauit,  
Dampnant ingrati dicta que facta viri.

This idea he amplifies in the English text, using more of the details found in our play (Lib. V, ll. 4917 ff.):

The bokes speken of this vice,  
And telle hou god of his justice,  
Be weie of kinde and ek nature  
And every lifissh creature,  
The lawe also, who that it kan,  
Thei dampnen an unkinde man.

This passage agrees with the Latin version given in *Mankind* more closely than it does with the one in the *Confessio*. Gower expresses the same idea in the *Mirour de l'Omme*, ll. 6685 ff.

In l. 775, Now-a-days correctly classifies himself when he concludes his speech with the words, "My bolte ys schott," which are

<sup>1</sup> *Queene Elizabethes Achademy*, etc., ed. F. J. Furnivall (E.E.T.S.), p. 83, l. 135; and p. 84, ll. 162–64.

a part of the still familiar proverb, "A fool's bolt is soon shot." This proverb was also current in mediaeval times. It is found in the "Proverbs of Hendyng," l. 85, in K. Bøddeker, *Altenglische Dichtungen des Ms. Harl. 2253*, p. 291; and in "The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage," l. 95.

In ll. 810-11, Mercy exhorts Mankind:

ȝelde me nethyr golde nor tresure, but yowur humbyll obeysyance,  
The voluntary subieccyon of yowur hert, & I am content.

The idea in this passage is expressed in a number of places in the Bible, but the phrasing and details are different. These are probably taken from some commentary on Prov. 23:26: "Praebe, fili mi, cor tuum mihi." A passage from the same source is in *Wisdom*, ll. 79-82:

Fili! prebe michi cor tuum!  
I aske not ellys of all ȝi substance:  
Thy clene hert, ȝi meke obeysance,  
yeue me ȝat, & I am contente.

In ll. 850-51, we are told:

Whyll a wond ys fresch, yt ys prowyd curabyll by surgery,  
ȝat, yf yt procede ouyrlonge, yt ys cawse of gret grewance.

A similar figure is used in *The Gouvernaunce of Prynces, or Pryvete of Pryveteis*, translated by James Yonge in 1422: "The grete Poet Ouydie Sayth, Pryncipijs obsta, 'Wytstonde the begynnyng,' ffor lyghtyre is a fressh wounde to hele, than a festrid."<sup>1</sup> The latter part of this quotation is probably a popular proverb: it has the form and typical subject-matter of one.

One of the principal features of *Mankind* is the satire on contemporary manners and customs. New-gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought, as their names indicate, represent the young dandies of the time who pride themselves on being up to date. The words "new gyse" and "nowadays" were commonly used by writers in commenting on the new styles and manners. Thus in *Nature*,<sup>2</sup> Pride, speaking of Man's clothes, says:

But in fayth I lyke not your aray  
It ys not the fassyon that goth now a day  
For now there ys a new guyse.

<sup>1</sup> *Secreta Secretorum*, ed. R. Steele (E.E.T.S.), p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Brandl, *Quellen*, p. 105, ll. 1024 ff.

See also Skelton's *Garlande of Laurell*:

For the gyse now adays  
Of sum iangelyng iays  
Is to discommende  
That they can not amende.<sup>1</sup>

Nought is a fit companion for New-gyse and Now-a-days: he is chronically without money, and he loves to make merry and to play the fool with the common tapster of Bury (ll. 265-69). Here, in epitome, is the life of our three characters and of the young dandies of the time whom they represent.

New-gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought are, of course, dressed in the extreme of fashion, probably even to the point of caricature, and in this way furnish part of the satire on dress in the play; but the satire is more marked in their manner of fitting out Mankind with a new jacket (ll. 664 ff.), which the fashion of the day dictated should be very short. New-gyse objects to Mankind's broad gown, and suggests that it could be sold for enough to provide him with many jackets. Mankind consents to exchange the gown for a jacket, provided the latter affords him covering enough to keep out the cold. New-gyse accordingly goes out to make the exchange. He is gone for so long a time that Now-a-days calls for him, remarking that the jacket will not be worth a farthing (ll. 687-88)—he must be trying to get one with only a farthing's worth of cloth in it. New-gyse re-enters with a jacket which he declares is scanty enough to allow Mankind to leap lightly about without encumbrance from it. Nought, however, objects to the cut—"yt ys not schapyn worth a morsell of brede"; and especially to the size—"ther ys to moche cloth, yt weys as ony lede." Accordingly, he takes it and abbreviates it still more—till it is only a suggestion of a jacket we may believe, for New-gyse exclaims with delight when it is returned: "Hay, doog! hay, whoppe! whoo! go yowur wey lyghtly! ze are well made for to ren" (ll. 713-14).

Short jackets were the style in the fifteenth century, as is proved by the statutes which were made from time to time to regulate the length of this garment. Thus in 1463 it was ordered "that no knight, under the estate of a lord, esquire, gentleman, nor none other person,

<sup>1</sup> *The Poetical Works of John Skelton*, Vol. II, p. 226, ll. 1261-64 (American edition).

shall use or wear from the feast of All Saints, which shall be in the year of our Lord M. cccc. lxxv., any gown, jacket, or coat, unless it be of such length that the same may cover his privy members and buttocks."<sup>1</sup> This statute was not enforced, however, and another, phrased in practically the same words, was adopted in 1482.<sup>2</sup> At the time of our play, then, the fashion was still in vogue.

New-gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought also defend the contemporary fashion of prolix speaking and writing. In l. 102, Mercy, whose theory is better than his practice, advises them to use "few wordis; few & well sett." Thomas Betson, in his *Ryght Profytable Treatyse*, f. b vi,<sup>3</sup> gives the same advice: "Beware of hyghe speche & clamorous/and see that thy wordes be fewe well sette & resonable." See also the poem on "The Siege of Rouen," in *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. J. Gairdner (Camden Society, 1876), p. 27: "Speke wordys but lytylle and welle hym set." But New-gyse declares:

Ser, yt ys þe new gyse & þe new jett:  
Many wordis, & schortely sett:  
Thys ys þe new gyse, euery dele.

Anyone who is acquainted with the literature of the fifteenth century will readily agree with New-gyse that this is the fashion of the age.

These three characters also join Mischief and Tytyvillus in ridiculing the use of Latin quotations and pompous, Latinized diction by Mercy and Mankind. The latter, in this respect, were following the fashion of the writers of the age; but it was a clerical fashion, not one that was affected by the class represented by New-gyse and his fellows. The ridicule sometimes takes the form of "dog-Latin," as in ll. 56 ff., 391 ff., 673 ff., and 768. Sometimes they use quotations from the Bible or church services, to which they give a perverted meaning to suit their purpose; thus, ll. 317-19, from Pss. 17:26-27—132:1; l. 468, from Rev. 17:14; l. 480, a part of Ps. 113:1 (second set of verses); and l. 433, a part of a common liturgical formula.

<sup>1</sup> *Statutes at Large*, III, 362.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 455.

<sup>3</sup> Facsimile reprint, Cambridge University Press, 1905.

## PLACE

Mr. Pollard's conclusions concerning the place of performance for *Mankind* are, briefly stated, as follows: It was produced by a strolling company of players, acting probably in the courtyards of inns, in the country districts centering around the towns of Cambridge and King's Lynn, respectively. My conclusions agree essentially with his, but I have found some new details that may be of interest.

Hitherto, the identification of the towns named in ll. 498-508 has been a matter of conjecture, and, in some cases, of doubt. All the editors have agreed as to Trumpington, Walton, Gayton, Fullburn, Massyngham, and Botysam. Their identity has been proved in the case of all these towns except Gayton and Massyngham by the investigations given earlier in this article. I have found no references to the Patrykes of Massyngham and the Bollmans of Gayton; but there can be little doubt that these places have been correctly identified.

Dr. Furnivall thinks that the Soffeham of l. 508 is Swaffham, in Norfolk. This is not certain, however, for, as Dr. Brandl points out, there was also a Swaffham in Cambridgeshire, and I have found Hammonds in both the Norfolk and the Cambridgeshire towns at about the time of our play (see above, under "Hamonde of Soffeham"). Swaffham Bulbeck is about 7 miles northeast by east from Cambridge, and only a few miles from Bottisham. It would, therefore, fit the conditions of the play as well as the Norfolk town does. However, as the writer seems to be making "a deliberate attempt to keep up interest in two different districts by local allusions very equitably distributed,"<sup>1</sup> and as the substitution of the Cambridgeshire town would destroy the balance between the Cambridgeshire and Norfolk places, making the proportion 6 to 3, instead of 5 to 4, it is perhaps better to retain the Norfolk Swaffham. The choice of either town does not materially change the results.

Sanston and Hanston (ll. 498-99) have puzzled the editors. Dr. Furnivall, reading the names as just given, suggests Santon, Norfolk,

<sup>1</sup> *Macro Plays*, p. xii. The attempt to keep the references to the two districts balanced becomes even more apparent when we notice that three men in Cambridgeshire and three in Norfolk are to be visited; the other men named are to be "spared."

and Ampton, Suffolk, or Hunston, Norfolk. Dr. Brandl, at the suggestion of Dr. Stevenson, reads Sauston and Hauston, and identifies them with Sawston and Hauxton, both near Cambridge.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Pollard adopts the latter readings. That Sawston is correct is proved by the presence of the family of Huntingdons in that place at the time of the play (see above, under "Huntyngton"). Hence Hauston is probably the correct reading for the other name, for it makes a better rhyme with Sauston than Hanston would, and there were Thyrlowes in Hauxton near the time of the play (cf. Wylliam Thurlay, in l. 499; and see above, under "Thurlay"). Moreover, the three towns, Sawston, Hauxton, and Trumpington, named in three successive lines of the play, form a group, all within a few miles of each other, just south of Cambridge. Mr. Pollard adopted the readings Sauston and Hauston; hence this investigation does not alter his conclusions, but merely confirms the data with which he worked.

Why were these two districts, one centering about Cambridge, the other about King's Lynn, chosen as the field of operations by the strolling players? The two places were nearly forty miles apart—no mean distance for a company which Mr. Pollard pictures as "trudging through mire and snow" as they went from one place of performance to another. A glance at the map will answer this question. The two towns are connected by the rivers Cam and Ouse, which in the fifteenth century formed an excellent waterway, and which therefore furnished the players a convenient method of travel.<sup>2</sup> Hence the company probably covered the longer stages of their journey by boat. It is not likely, however, that they made the entire forty-mile trip in one stage. The local allusions show that the play was intended primarily for performance in the rural districts surrounding the two towns; but it does not follow that they confined their operations to these localities. There is no reason to suppose that they would travel the forty miles intervening without trying to pick up some money on the way. So to Mr. Pollard's picture of the players trudging through the mire we may add the

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xi.

<sup>2</sup> For the importance of this waterway to the Sturbridge Fair at Cambridge, see J. T. Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, I, 142.



picture of them floating down the river and stopping, as opportunity offered, to give their performance throughout the sections bordering the streams.

#### AUTHOR

There is some evidence in ll. 498-500 that the author was a Cambridgeshire man who was especially familiar with the neighborhood around the town of Cambridge. The three towns Sawston, Hauxton, and Trumpington are named first. These towns lie near Cambridge—the first, about 5 miles south by east; the second,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles south by west; the third, 2 miles south—and thus form a compact group. It will be noticed, also, that these three are assigned in a group to New-gyse. The places named later are more scattered, and are not assigned in distinct groups: two Norfolk towns and one Cambridgeshire town—about forty miles apart—are given to Now-a-days; and the same number with the same arrangement, to Nought. This assigning of a compact group to one man, and naming it first in the list; then the shifting of later assignments from one county to the other is what one would naturally expect of a writer who was familiar with the first group, but who was not so well acquainted with the other towns and thought of them merely as places lying in the territory that was to be covered by the company on its tour. This theory is also supported by the phraseology in ll. 498-500. New-gyse's words, "fyrst I xall be-gyn" at Sawston, "fro thens I xall go" to Hauxton, "ande so forth" to Trumpington, suggest the work of a man who knew that short three or four mile walk from Sawston to Trumpington, through Hauxton.

For trying to determine the position held by this man, and his affiliations with contemporary classes of society, we have the following data: his acquaintance with the life and tastes of the country people; his knowledge of Latin, as shown by his coining of Latinized words and his frequent use of Latin phrases; his satire against the church; his predilection for coarse humor; his indifference to the theological system of the church (see p. 119); and his knowledge of legal terms and methods of court procedure. What shall we conclude from this data? We may take for granted his Latin education; and we may assume that he was in close touch with rural life. Just what his position was, is not certain. He may have been a man in

holy orders; certainly, as Dr. Brandl points out,<sup>1</sup> with the example of Skelton in mind, we find nothing in the data to contradict this theory. The satire does not prove him a Lollard or an enemy of the church, for satire on ecclesiastical abuses was written by devout and orthodox men. The writer's indifference to the theological system of the church may be due to the fact that this is only a sham morality (see p. 120), written with a very secondary interest in the lesson to be taught. One theory, then, is that the writer was a man in orders; if such was the case, our most natural assumption is that he held a rural living near Cambridge.

Another possible conclusion is that the author was a man trained for the law; this is suggested by his familiarity with legal terms and the method of conducting court. Cf. "cepe coppus" and "non est inventus" (ll. 773-74) and the mock court scene (ll. 657 ff.). In this case we may suppose him to have been a lawyer, perhaps keeping an office in the town of Cambridge, and having clients among the neighboring country people. However, the legal knowledge shown in the play is not so extensive that the latter might not have been written by a layman. Either of these suggestions is possible and plausible; neither is certain. But to whatever class we assign the author, he was the first writer of extant moralities to make a very definite step toward the secularization of the morality type of play. He was one of the earliest of English "dramatists" who wrote primarily for the sake of the play, and only incidentally for the sake of the moral or religious lesson.

#### THE MORALITY STRUCTURE OF THE PLAY

The serious part of the plot of *Mankind* is of the usual morality type—the conflict of the forces of good and evil for the soul of Mankind. The following analysis brings out an interpretation of the temptation scene which, I believe, has not been given before. In the analysis I have adopted Mr. Ramsay's division of the play into four stages, with a change of the point of division between the last two.<sup>2</sup>

1. Innocence (1-315): Mankind does not appear until l. 181. The preceding part of the play is taken up mainly with a preliminary

<sup>1</sup> A. Brandl, *Quellen des weltlichen Dramas*, p. xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> R. L. Ramsay, *Magnificence* (E.E.T.S.), p. clx.

skirmish between Mercy and Myscheff, the latter aided by the three Vices. Mankind then enters, complaining of the constant fight between his soul and his body. Mercy gives him instruction, interrupted by considerable horseplay by the Vices, as to how he may keep his body in subjection; and leaves after injunctions to beware of Tityvillus and his fellows, to "do truly yowur labure, & kepe yowur haly day" (l. 293), and to "do truly yowur labure, & be neuer ydyll" (l. 301). Labor and the observance of his religious duties are to be Mankind's safeguards. The latter declares that the "rebellyn of my flesch" is now overcome; and hangs a charm—a verse of Scripture—about his neck to protect him from the forces of evil.

2. Temptation (316–599): Mankind proceeds at once to carry out Mercy's instruction about labor, by setting to work digging with his spade "to eschew ydullness" (l. 322) and also presumably to prepare the ground for planting. Immediately New-gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought begin their temptation by ridiculing his work, and thus trying to make him give it up. They fail, however, and are beaten by Mankind with his spade, the symbol of labor. By labor he has overcome his enemies. Thereupon he triumphantly departs with his spade, to "lyue euer with labure, to corecte my insolence" (l. 403). Myscheff enters, and sympathizes with his fellows; then they call in Tityvillus to help. Tityvillus is wiler than the others; and instead of ridiculing Mankind's work he proceeds to make the labor difficult and unprofitable by putting a board in the ground where Mankind is digging, and by stealing his seed. Mankind quits work in disgust: "here I gyf wppe my spade, for now & for euer"; he refuses to work any longer to keep his body occupied and thus out of mischief: "to occupye my body, I wyll not put me in deuer" (ll. 542–43). He has now disobeyed the first part of Mercy's injunction. He has not, however, given up the second part; and he kneels to say his Pater Noster. Tityvillus whispers in his ear that a short prayer is better than a long one, and stops even the short Pater Noster by a suggestion not more delicate than many others in the play. Acting upon the suggestion, Mankind leaves the stage; when he returns, he announces that he is tired of both labor and prayer and will have no more to do with them though

Mercy be angry (l. 579). He goes to sleep, and Tityvillus completes his estrangement from Mercy by making him dream that Mercy has been hanged for stealing. Mankind has forsworn both labor and prayer, and falls at once into evil ways.

3. Life-in-Sin (600-803): Mankind hastens to join New-gyse, Now-a-days, and Nought in their manner of living. As there is little of the morality element in this section, the analysis of it is omitted.

4. Repentance (804-907): Mercy exhorts Mankind to repent; the latter says that he has sinned beyond hope of redemption. Mercy declares that it is never too late to repent, and that he is ever ready to help those who seek him. Mankind finally submits, and returns to a life of righteousness.

Thus Mankind falls into sin through neglecting labor and his religious duties. He is redeemed merely by asking and receiving Mercy, without the help of the sacrament of penance. It is noteworthy that there is very little mention in the play of the theological teachings of the church. The most important references are Mercy's injunction to keep the holy days (l. 293), and the incidental references to the mass (l. 291) and to "masse & matens, owres & prime" (l. 705). Compare this with the well-worked-out theological scheme for man's fall and redemption as given in *Wisdom*, written only ten years earlier. There man falls by the three successive steps—suggestion, delectation, and consent—into the three chief sins—pride, covetousness, and lechery. He is redeemed by undergoing the three steps in the sacrament of penance—contrition, confession, and satisfaction—and is reformed in the trinity of the virtues—faith, hope, and charity.<sup>1</sup> In *Mankind*, it is apparent that we are dealing with a type of morality play very different from *Wisdom*. A very simple framework has taken the place of the elaborate theological scheme.

Note also ll. 878-81, in which the writer tries to identify the forces of evil—Tityvillus and his companions—with the three traditional enemies of mankind—the World, the Flesh, and the Devil:

New-gyse, Now-a-dayis, Nowgth, þe 'world' we may hem call;  
& propyrlylly Titiuilly syngnyfyes the fend of helle;  
the flesch,—þat ys, þe unclene concupiscens of þour body  
these be your iij gostly enemyis.

<sup>1</sup>W. K. Smart, *Some English and Latin Sources for the Morality of Wisdom*, p. 45.

The comparison, it will be seen, breaks down, for Flesh is not represented on the stage by any of Tityvillus' crew, and Myscheff, one of the chief forces of evil, is not included in the three enemies—indeed, there is no place for him. This looks as if the author brought in whatever comic characters he needed, without thinking of how they would fit into the traditional morality-play trinity, and only as an afterthought decided to identify them as well as he could with that trinity.

Again, in the entire play Tityvillus and his companions are absent from the stage during only 333 lines; one or more of them are present during 574 lines—about two-thirds of the play—and whenever they are on the stage they dominate the scene with their rough humor.

From these facts we conclude that this is only a sham morality—with a slight morality framework that offers an excuse for the production of the play, whose chief business is to entertain the country audiences with its coarse humor, and bring their "reyallys" and groats into the company's treasury.

#### SOURCE

I have found no direct source for any passage in *Mankind*; in fact, most of the passages have specific references to characters and situations in the play which show that they were written for the occasion, and not borrowed almost verbatim, as were large parts of *Wisdom*, for instance. Two sources have been suggested: one—the "half-acre" episode in *Piers Plowman*—by Miss Mabel M. Keiller;<sup>1</sup> the other—the poem "Merci Passith Riȝtwisnes"—by W. R. Mackenzie.<sup>2</sup> Lack of space forbids a detailed analysis of these so-called "sources." At the most, however, they can have furnished only slight suggestions for *Mankind*, and it is very doubtful if they did that much. Certainly there is no significant parallelism between the field episode in *Piers Plowman* and the digging scene in *Mankind*. Likewise, the poem "Merci Passith Riȝtwisnes" has no significant points in common with *Mankind*. The fact that Mercy and a sinner appear in a poem and a play, and use the same *general* arguments in both, does not show that one borrowed from the other. The association between Mercy and a sinner is obvious enough; bring

<sup>1</sup> *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, June, 1911.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, March, 1912.

the two together and the nature of their dialogue is determined by the nature of the characters and the situation. In the absence of parallelism in phrasing and details of situation, then, there is no reason for supposing that the writer of *Mankind* knew this poem.

Of course the author used much conventional material, as the parallels already cited show, but he reshaped it to fit his play. A number of the ideas in the serious parts are from the Bible; and it may not be out of place to indicate these: l. 43, "The corn xall be sauysde, pe chaffe xall be brente," from Matt. 3:12, or Luke 3:17; l. 175, "But such as pei haue sowyn, such xall pei repe," from Gal. 6:7; ll. 216-17, "ȝe [Mercy] be approxymatt to Gode, and nere of hys consell; He hat instytut you a-boue all hys werkis," perhaps a free rendering of Ps. 130:7, "For with the Lord there is mercy," and of Ps. 145:9, "And his tender mercies are over all his works"; l. 221, "Vita hominis est milicia super terram," from Job 7:1 (not in the English version); l. 357, "Why stonde ye ydyll?" perhaps from Matt. 20:6, "Why stand ye here all the day idle?" ll. 399-400, "I do yt not a-lone: With pe helpe of pe grace of Gode, I resyst my fon," perhaps adapted from I Cor. 15:10, "But I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me"; l. 760, "Vanitas vanitatum, all ys but a vanyte," from Eccles. 1:2; l. 839, "To truste ouermoeche In a prince, yt ys not expedient," from Ps. 146:3, "Put not your trust in princes"; l. 855 (referring to the punishment for sins after death), "But, whan ȝe be go, vsque ad minimum quadrantem ȝe schall rekyn pis ryght," perhaps suggested by Matt. 5:26, where Christ, speaking of a man committed to prison, says, "Amen dico tibi, non exies inde, donec reddas novissimum quadrantem."

This list does not include the passages which have been previously discussed in this article, or those whose biblical sources have been pointed out by the editors of the play.

W. K. SMART

ARMOUR INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY